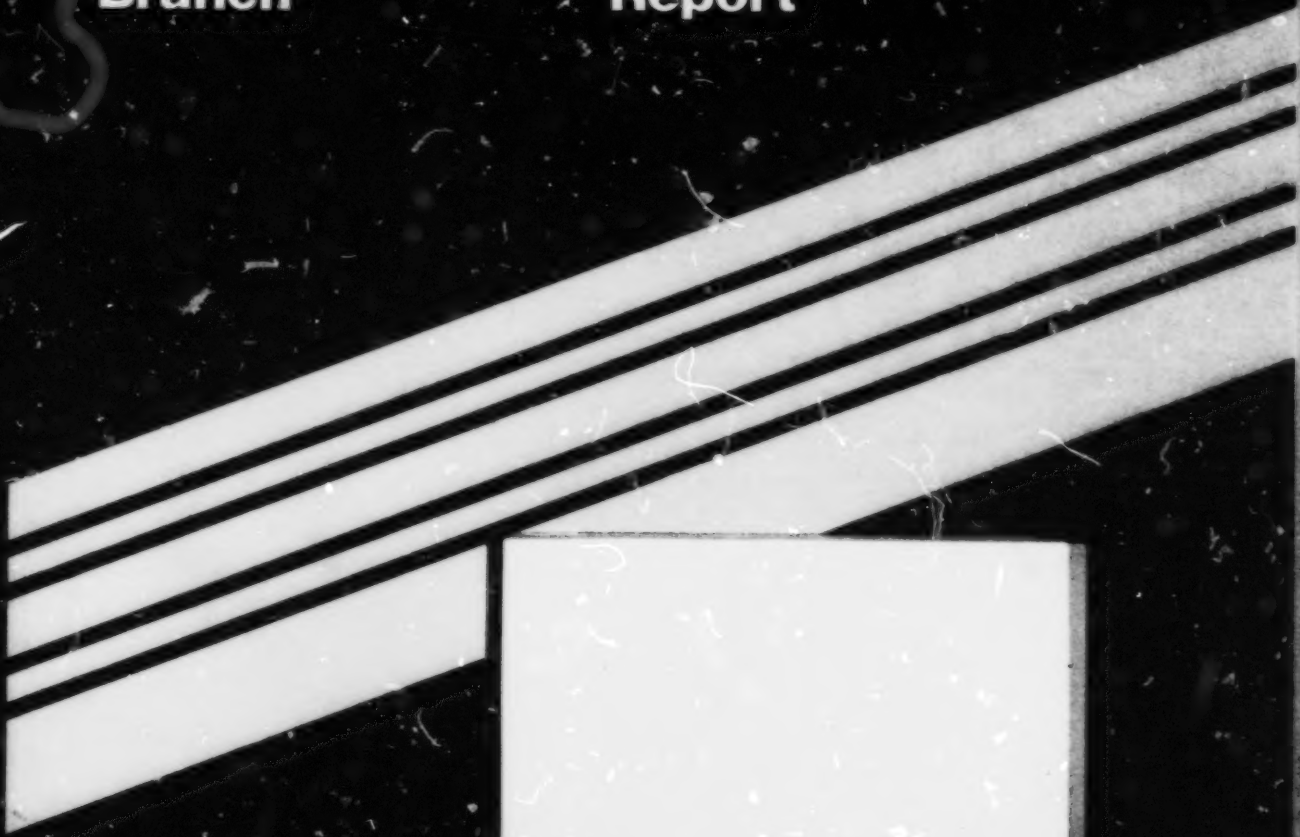


**Programs
Branch**

**User
Report**



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CRIME PREVENTION RESEARCH
IN THE MINISTRY OF THE
SOLICITOR GENERAL OF CANADA

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ABSTRACT

Since 1974, the Secretariat Programs Branch of the Ministry of the Solicitor General has carried out a program of research, development and evaluation in crime prevention, broadly construed. Through programs in such diverse areas as gun control, robbery, delinquency, sex offenders and native justice, contributions have been made to a general understanding of what works in crime prevention.

Much has been accomplished in the area of community involvement and leadership in tackling the basic causes of crime. Home owners and the business community have become active in "target hardening" and "opportunity reduction", with very encouraging results. Crimes can be reduced while strengthening the community but it is clear that social problems such as unemployment, neighbourhood degeneration and family instability contribute to the causes of crime. Therefore, research has been conducted on the precursors to delinquency, as well as on the most effective ways to treat offenders in order to reduce recidivism.

The theme of early intervention is repeated in research with Natives and young children. Similarly, research in spouse assault was undertaken to determine whether early intervention in the cycle of family conflict could aid in preventing

violence. Research with police and social agencies in examining responses to sexual assault is one example of the multi-dimensional approach to crime prevention which builds on the knowledge base of the past decade.

Corrections also can be viewed as a form of crime prevention, not solely through incarceration of the offender but in the provision of programs to change prisoners' attitudes and to increase opportunities to reintegrate successfully into society, thus preventing crimes these offenders might otherwise commit. This community-oriented correctional response to crime not only has an impact on the offender but has the potential to improve the home environment as well.

CRIME PREVENTION RESEARCH IN
THE MINISTRY OF THE SOLICITOR GENERAL OF CANADA

Introduction

The federal Ministry of the Solicitor General is involved in a major Crime Prevention initiative. The purpose of the initiative is to reduce crime and the social and economic costs of crime in Canadian society. The reduction of crime requires shared responsibility and coordinated action among all orders of government and the public. Ministry research provides information upon which to identify national directions in crime prevention, primarily for the R.C.M.P. and other police departments. What is learned is made available to practitioners for modification and application in their communities.

The Ministry is responsible for policing and corrections, which account for 90% of the federal budget in criminal justice and 30% of total criminal justice expenditure, federal, provincial and municipal, in Canada. Approximately 60% of federal criminal justice expenditures are allocated to the R.C.M.P. In addition to federal policing, the R.C.M.P. under contract serves as the provincial police in all provinces except Ontario

and Quebec, and polices approximately 190 municipalities. Successful crime prevention strategies also have the potential to reduce the social and financial costs to victims of crime. Crime prevention can help to control rising rates of incarceration and other related criminal justice expenditures.

The goals of the Ministry in crime prevention include:

- i) the development and promotion of policies and programs contributing to the reduction of crime and the impact of crime on Canadian society;
- ii) the development of a more effective, efficient and humane criminal justice system;
- iii) increased public understanding of and participation in the criminal justice system. .

The Ministry is committed to the development of strategies, programs and greater collaboration to reduce the incidence and the social and economic costs of crime through three strategies:

- i) crime prevention research, program development and evaluation;
- ii) nation-wide dissemination of research and development

findings on crime prevention to police and community practitioners;

iii) development of national, provincial, territorial and local partnerships for crime prevention among all sectors of Canadian society.

Since 1974, the Secretariat Programs Branch of the Ministry of the Solicitor General has carried out a program of research, development and evaluation in crime prevention. Hundreds of separate studies have been completed or are in progress in the areas of young offenders, policing, family violence, victims, missing children, women in conflict with the law, Native justice, and corrections.

The principal client for crime prevention research of the Ministry is the police community, particularly the R.C.M.P. There are two main types of projects; those to assist the police community in planning and evaluating pilot crime prevention projects to serve as models throughout Canada; and those that synthesize information from related disciplines, especially as they relate to the training of crime prevention officers and standards for police.

The focus of particular projects varies according to the problem addressed, evolving concerns, the state of knowledge, and the availability of significant innovative programs to

study. At first, the Ministry focus was on "opportunity reduction" and "target hardening", to encourage Canadians to make their homes and businesses difficult targets for criminals. This was marked by a strong police/community cooperative approach. Subsequently, efforts were focused on the social aspects of crime prevention, particularly community and family issues.

Gun Control and Robbery Prevention

The gun control project was an extensive undertaking beginning in 1975, before the introduction of legislation to control the sale of firearms. Numerous publications were prepared to inform policy in the development, management and evaluation of the gun control program. Then, to monitor the changes in gun-related offences an outcome analysis was undertaken both before, and two years after, passage of the legislation. The study found that the proportion of crimes, accidents and suicides involving firearms declined after passage of the new law and continues to do so. (Scarff, 1983)

In 1982, the Research Division commissioned a study to analyze the relationship between fear of crime, victimization, and attitudes to different protective measures, with a specific focus on attitudes toward the use of firearms for protection. The relevant literature included information from the Gallup and CROP omnibus poll. The Gallup Poll, conducted for the

Ministry in 1982, included questions on fear, victimization, and attitudes to protective measures. (Canadian Facts, 1984)

The questions addressed were:

- To what extent, if any, is 'fear of crime' increasing in Canada?
- Do Canadians think that the rate of crime in their neighbourhoods is increasing?
- Are persons who have been victimized more likely to have a higher level of fear of crime than those who have not?
- To what extent, if any, does the experience of being a victim affect attitudes to protective measures?

This review did not support the hypothesis that Canadians were becoming more fearful about their personal safety or property. There was a general tendency, particularly among urban residents, to think that the overall crime rate was increasing and that the incidence of specific crimes had gone up over time. Certain subgroups (for example, the "elderly") appeared to have a higher level of subjective concern about crime and to be somewhat more fearful than others. Overall, however, there had been no apparent changes over the preceeding decade in the level of individual concern about personal safety within their

own neighbourhoods.

The most popular protective measures were those directed at the protection of personal property--for example, locking doors, notifying neighbours when away and improving locks. Only a very small proportion of individuals (10% or less) depending on the specific study, stated that they acquired or carried guns for purposes of protection.

Persons who had been victimized were more apt to perceive a higher rate of crime in their neighbourhoods than those who had not. There was some evidence to suggest that persons who acquired guns for protection were more likely to have been victims of crimes involving personal attack or threat.

Three research projects were undertaken in 1984 and 1985 to provide, among other things, information on the criminal use of firearms. Robbery in Canada (Billingsley, Canfield, and Hann, 1984) was an exploratory study of the extent and nature of information sources on robbery. This study examined the feasibility of performing a nation-wide robbery analysis, combining data available from police, government and private sources. The study assessed the feasibility of other types of research projects examining specific issues. Armed Robbery in Ottawa (Ciale and Leroux, 1984) was a descriptive case study for prevention. The results indicated that victims, by and large, tended to be small merchants, chain convenience store

clerks, druggists, gas bar attendants and lone individuals. Firearms were used in 57.9% of the 394 armed robberies studied. The majority (43.3%) were revolvers. A typology of variable target vulnerability was created. Geographic location, i.e., easy access to and exit from the target area, was especially important for the robber when selecting a target. The Vancouver Convenience Store Robbery Prevention Program (Roesch and Winterdyk, 1985) provided a model crime prevention program for convenience store operators which the Ministry distributed across the country, largely through the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other police departments. Much of the program was based on the principles of prevention through environmental design from the work of Duffala, Jacobs, Jeffery, Newman, Reppetto, and Brantingham and others as reviewed in McGinnis, et al (1984).

Community Crime Prevention

Research indicates that to reduce crime the "community" must share responsibility with the police. As a result of research, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police now includes community groups in identifying problems and in planning and operating crime prevention programs (Solicitor General Canada, 1983; Linden, 1984). Joint planning is initiated by police and community representatives to address mutually identified priorities and problems. In this process, both the community and the police are able to share their information and express their concerns

while establishing priorities and programs of action to reduce crime.

The principles of police based community crime prevention programs were reviewed in a report by Barker and Linden (1985). An extensive review of crime prevention evaluations was conducted in order to uncover common concerns and problems. This report was intended to facilitate rational planning to avoid unrealistic expectations. The Ministry produced three products for national distribution (Solicitor General, 1983a; 1983b; 1984) as a result of a recognized need for practical resource materials for professionals and the general public. The purpose of these documents is to provide basic tenets in crime prevention practice, to assist the layman to become involved with the police and community, and address the crime problems of their specific neighbourhood. They are briefly described in Appendix A.

A major project developed in 1985 afforded an opportunity to put some of these basic concepts into practice and to evaluate their impact. For example, the Ministry initiated a comprehensive research and demonstration project to assist the Crime Prevention Council of Ottawa to prevent or reduce crimes against the elderly, juvenile crime, drinking and driving, violent crime, and crimes in highrise apartment buildings. The Council includes concerned citizens, the police, city aldermen, and representatives from various business, education and legal

professions. There is an executive and a Task Force for each of the five crime areas. This police/community crime prevention model is being evaluated and is expected to be adopted by other major Canadian cities.

This research project makes use of information gained from previous crime prevention research in the areas of robbery prevention, crime prevention through environmental design, vandalism prevention, crime analysis using computerized police systems and resident surveys to measure the extent of crime, fear of crime, and knowledge and practice of crime prevention techniques as well as victimization and patterns of reporting to the police. For example, we are currently assisting in the development and evaluation of the efforts of the Apartment Task Force. Community crime prevention models traditionally have encountered little success in highrise rental accommodation. The main project objectives are to conduct a crime analysis of a five building apartment complex to determine the most appropriate strategies and to evaluate the success of these implemented strategies. The strategies will be developed by the Task Force. This is potentially a very significant study because it addresses crime prevention in an area which has traditionally been very difficult to involve in a police/community project. It makes use of the latest knowledge in crime prevention, especially the need to use micro-data to design programs to the specific needs of a community. As more and more apartment complexes are built, it becomes imperative

that planners take into account community design, building design, interaction with community traffic patterns, and how these affect crime in highrise accommodation. Evaluation of the project will provide information on how to effectively mobilize apartment residents and management to work together with the police as a community to prevent crime, and recommendations on building guidelines for highrise apartment buildings to enhance crime prevention which will be valuable to city planners.

The Ministry commissioned a review of the environmental design and management approach to crime prevention in residential environments (McInnis, Burgiss, Hann and Axon, 1984), which assisted greatly in the development of this project. This project was undertaken to evaluate the crime prevention principles and practices involving the design or management of the physical environment. These approaches had been in practice in the United States and Great Britain for many years under such names as Defensible Space, CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) and the Situational Approach to Crime Prevention. The project sought to determine whether there was a need and potential for implementing a crime prevention approach in Canada which would focus on the design and management of residential environments; to evaluate the applicability of specific aspects of the urban design approach to crime prevention developed in the United States and Britain, to residential environments in Canada; and to develop detailed

principles for an urban design and property management approach to crime prevention in residential environments in Canada.

An extensive analysis of the literature assessing the use of these principles and practices; interviews with housing and law enforcement officials in Canada, the U.S. and Great Britain; and a survey of law enforcement, housing planning and management organizations was conducted in 25 major cities across Canada and detailed field studies were carried out in Calgary, Hamilton, Burnaby and Montreal. The researchers developed the "Environmental Design and Management" (EDM) approach to residential crime.

The essence of the approach is that residential crime prevention can best be accomplished through a mix of design factors (i.e., alterations to the physical environment) and management factors (the regulation of the ways in which people, singly or collectively, use and relate to the environments in which they live). The specific mix of design and management approaches used, is derived from an analysis of criminal victimization in a particular environment and collaboration among police, government and housing officials and residents to determine which crime problems should be dealt with and what can realistically be done to reduce those problems. The central idea in the EDM approach is the need for management strategies to complement design strategies. It is believed that without management strategies to draw the goal of crime

prevention to the attention of residents, landlords, police, and the community at large, design strategies can have only very limited effects.

The report concluded that the EDM approach to crime prevention makes sense, primarily for: (a) addressing a variety of factors which influence the occurrence of crime; (b) treating each environment as a unique situation; (c) involving a range of individuals and groups in crime prevention. These findings have become accepted basic tenets in crime prevention strategy in recent years. The RCMP use EDM information in their audio visual presentation on robbery prevention, and the Canadian Police College use information on the EDM approach in their crime prevention officers course.

A different approach is being taken in another highrise location. The municipal police were having particular difficulty with one building which had logged almost twice the number of police interventions in comparison to similar buildings in the area. The majority of interventions were related to nuisance calls; also included were car thefts, vandalism, break and enters, and one murder. The tenants were considered uncooperative, if not hostile, to the police. However, the Ministry became involved in a research project to develop a crime prevention strategy while enhancing police/community relations. Previous research has indicated that after receiving assistance from the police victims view

the police more favourably. In the present study, the police provide victim assistance to tenants and then recruit them to help contact other tenants and thus set up a crime prevention network. Evaluation of this program will not be completed until 1987.

Family Violence

Research has identified some promising directions in the area of wife assault. This type of violent crime often goes unreported resulting in repeated victimization. Unfortunately when this type of crime remains unreported women continue to be victimized, children remain in the home to witness the battering, and offenders go untreated. This is one area in which changes in legislation would have minimal impact in the absence of corresponding changes in criminal justice practices. How police respond to wife assault situations is a major concern as the police are the first, and often the only, component of the criminal justice system to come into contact with assaulted wives. Domestic assaults prove to be difficult situations for the police to handle. First, police intervention appears to be ineffective given the frequency of repeat calls, and the inevitable spiral of violence which accompanies subsequent calls. Secondly, domestic disputes are one of the most dangerous situations police are confronted with. Finally, very few cases go to court, leaving the offender on the street free to batter his spouse yet again.

Through the Minsitry's research and development initiatives, model programs for police response have been established and incorporated into the training program for police officers across the country. Research has demonstrated that women are better protected when a policy to charge assaultive spouses is supported by legal aid, residences and counselling. A number of provinces have adopted charging policies, and in July 1982 a unanimous motion in the House of Commons recommended that the police lay charges in wife assault cases.

Other Ministry research produced successful community models in which municipal agencies dealing with wife assault meet to share their knowledge and develop solutions. As a result of this research, the London, Ontario police implemented the first formal charging policy in Canada. In addition, changes were made regarding cases that go to Criminal and Family court, and a treatment program for men who batter and a victim advocacy service were created. This is one example of how concern for the victim and police response to a problem can result in the development of a criminal justice solution that is responsive to the needs of all parties, resulting in the prevention of violence and intervention to prevent its escalation. The coordinated comprehensive community approach has served as a model for many other communities across Canada (Jaffe and Burris, 1984).

Research and development in five rural communities in northern New Brunswick used trained volunteers to provide mediation, counselling, referrals to community agencies, arrangement for emergency shelter, and follow-up on cases. The project assisted the police and reduced the amount of police time spent on family violence cases. It also demonstrated that volunteers can be an effective resource to the police in small communities where professional agencies may not be available (Lerette, 1984).

Rural Crime Prevention

Criminological enquiry into the rural environment has largely been neglected. However, an extensive recent literature review on crime and criminal justice in rural areas identified major gaps in information. A major challenge emerging from this report is to find ways to develop police/community cooperation in a rural setting (Kaill, 1986).

The Ministry also produced a review of rural crime prevention programs in Canada. The problems of geographic distance, large policing jurisdictions, and limited police resources present a challenge to policing in rural areas. Surveys have revealed that residents in rural areas express less fear of crime than their urban neighbours and take fewer security precautions. Increased access to previously remote or secluded areas results in the need for unique crime prevention techniques. The crime

problems of rural areas has resulted in the development of innovative police/community programs. Rural Crime Prevention in Canada (Linden and Minch, 1986) reviews the factors which make rural policing and rural crime prevention so challenging. It reviews programs in existence in rural Canada and sets out the steps involved in problem definition, program planning, implementation and evaluation (Linden and Minch, 1984). It is distributed across Canada with the RCMP film presentation on Rural Crime Prevention.

Preventing Delinquency

It is now recognized that there is not a sole "cause" of juvenile delinquency or adult criminality, but, rather the underlying mechanisms are diverse and multi-faceted.

Intervention and treatment have presented perhaps the greatest research challenge to the criminal justice system. Over the years the evidence has mounted that socio-economic status, family relationship variables, emotional problems, neural and neurophysiological problems, to name a few, all may play a role in determining an individual's propensity to delinquency or criminality.

With reference to the young offender, treatment has often been hampered by a lack of precise knowledge of the factors contributing to delinquency. Nevertheless, some successes have been noted, almost in spite of a lack of informed consensus on

the true nature of the problem (Fischer, 1984; Kopelman and Moyer, 1985).

To date we have extensively reviewed various aspects of delinquency, including social factors (Waller and Weiler, 1984), family relationship variables (Fischer, 1985), learning disabilities (Crealock, 1986) and intervention or treatment programs (Kopelman and Moyer, 1985; Lerette, 1984; Nelms-Matzke, 1982a, 1982b; Goodacre, 1983; Normandeau and Ouellette, 1978).

It is clear that proponents of delinquency prevention programs must indicate explicitly the theory or assumptions on which they are basing their program. Failure to do this in the past has hampered efforts to adequately evaluate program impact. It is also accepted now that specific programs will not be equally effective with all kinds of juveniles. Programs which concentrate on teaching concrete skills such as how to spend leisure time, how to accept responsibility, and how to interact positively with others have had some success. Counselling has been found to have limited impact in providing these skills; activity-based programs have had more success.

Psychotherapeutic treatment may benefit a selected population of juvenile delinquents, but it does not hold promise as a large scale measure of prevention or control. Of course, the potentially negative effect of labelling should be a consideration in designing any program to prevent the progress

of delinquency. Juvenile delinquency is often characterized by conflict with the law in combination with school problems, and child-parent relationship difficulties. Consequently, a multi-disciplinary coordinated approach from the social services provides a better chance of success in preventing delinquency. We have yet to determine which strategies or interventions work best for which clients.

The Ministry will be looking for ways to test the efficacy of different treatment methods for youths at risk of becoming delinquent, based on information we have on the precursors of delinquency, the more promising intervention strategies now available and the need for an eclectic approach. At the same time we are looking for promising intervention strategies for chronic juvenile offenders.

Crime Prevention and Community Policing

The logo and the slogan developed in Canada, which shows a family grouping and a police officer with the message "Working Together to Prevent Crime", epitomizes the "community policing" approach that the Ministry is fostering across Canada. In community policing, the prevention of crime is central. Police mini-stations, community surveys, foot patrol, neighbourhood watch and other projects share the common purpose of reducing the opportunities for and the consequences of crime. In a sense the victim for most community policing

initiatives is the collective victim-the community. Whether the strategies are labelled "crime prevention" or "community policing", the objectives are similar-the preservation of peace and order, and the enhancement of the quality of community life.

Community policing has emerged as an extension of the crime prevention programming that dominated the progressive police agenda of the 1970's. As an initial response to this interest, the Secretariat produced three relevant publications. (Wasson, 1977; Cunningham, 1978; Zaharchuk and Lynch, 1977) Wasson reviewed team and zone policing, and evaluations of these policing strategies. The report by Cunningham was undertaken to assist police departments in evaluating their own programs. Zaharchuk and Lynch, produced program development guidelines for community-based crime prevention. This document was based on the work of Staff-Sergeant David Rawlins, of the Ottawa Police Department, who had organized a community-based crime prevention program in Ottawa.

The Ministry has been instrumental in the development of community policing in Canada through vigorous programs of research, information dissemination, evaluation and program development. In 1982, in collaboration with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Ministry produced Community Based Policing: A Review of the Critical Issues (Murphy and Muir, 1985). This report has been widely distributed and has stimulated a number

of R & D initiatives in various Canadian police departments and is used in police colleges as a training manual. This report also serves as a key reference on community-based policing in courses at the Canadian Police College.

One of the most important Canadian initiatives has been undertaken by the Metro Toronto Police Force, to operationalize community policing concepts through community consultation and police decentralization. The Ministry assisted by conducting extensive planning surveys, by evaluating the neighbourhood police mini-station (A.R.A., 1985) and by providing planning/program assistance in target neighbourhoods to assist in implementation and evaluation. The research established that mini-stations and foot patrols are effective means of enhancing police-community relations and of delivering police services to meet the needs of particular communities.

Other crime prevention programs include: zone policing in Ottawa, crime analysis in Calgary, team/zone policing in Halifax, a core neighbourhood policing project in Winnipeg and a police mini-station in Fredericton.

Growing public concern over the problem of missing children has prompted the development of a major new research initiative, in collaboration with the R.C.M.P. and three other Canadian Police departments. Research will establish the nature and extent of the problems of runaways and abduction of children and the

possible links to related social problems such as delinquency, family violence, and child abuse. The research findings from national data, augmented by focused analysis in four selected police departments, should provide a more reliable basis for criminal justice policy.

Crime Prevention Through Corrections

Corrections should properly be viewed as a form of crime prevention. Some prevention of crime is realized through the containment of prisoners during their period of incarceration, although studies in the U.S. have shown the limitations of incapacitation (even when selectively applied) as a strategy for preventing crime. On the other side, correctional programs that are successful in changing prisoners' attitudes and behaviours such that they return to the community as law-abiding citizens, prevent crimes that these prisoners would have otherwise committed.

Although rehabilitation was widely discredited in the 1970's, and corrections in the last decade in North America has been characterized by a preoccupation with procedural fairness (what some authors have called "Justice as Fairness") rather than rehabilitation, recent research and development in correctional treatment has indicated some success, particularly with juvenile delinquents and carefully targetted adult offenders, e.g., drug addicts and sexual offenders. As a result of these

encouraging signs of effective treatment, and recognition of the limitations of punishment, there is a growing movement in North America to "reaffirm rehabilitation".

One important aspect of this movement is a recognition that rehabilitation cannot be undertaken with an offender in isolation, and that the scope of our efforts in rehabilitation must be broadened to include the family as well as the community. Consistent with this emphasis, there has been a growing interest in alternatives to imprisonment which permit the maintenance of family and community ties, and avoid the negative consequences of the prison experience.

An impressive body of research has shown that various aspects of the family, in combination with environmental stressors, contribute to the likelihood of risk for future criminality and psychopathology. Therapeutic interventions to prevent crime have been directed to the families of young children with conduct problems (Patterson, 1974; Patterson and Fleishman, 1979) and to families of children with delinquent siblings (Klein, Alexander and Parsons, 1977). Until very recently no attempts have been made to use this approach with the families of offenders, despite the evidence that parental criminality is a strong predictor of future criminality of their offspring.

The Ministry is involved in a project that will provide therapeutic interventions to the families of parolees. Dynamic

variables that are predictive of cross-generational crime have been identified. These variables will be used to select children of offenders at particular risk for delinquency or antisocial lifestyles. A social learning, parent training program (Patterson, 1986) will be implemented in order to provide offenders and their spouses with family management skills and coping strategies, and to reduce the likelihood that the child of an offender will follow a criminal career.

Both the intervention and the evaluation research are based on intensive and detailed behavioural observations of the family at home and in the laboratory while carrying out pre-assigned exercises. A critical dimension that now appears to be emerging in this research area is coercion, as used by both child and parent. Since these approaches have proven effective with aggressive, "acting out" children, we see a potential for delinquency prevention. A pilot project is under way, and a major program of research and development along these lines is planned.

Another ongoing "crime prevention through corrections" project targets sexual offenders. The project entitled "Psychological Therapy of Sexual Offenders" involves an evaluation of a treatment program for sexual offenders released from the penitentiary and under supervision in the community. This program provides continuity in treatment from the institution to the community, and is designed to provide therapy to sexual

offenders to enable them to control their behaviour and manage their lives without re-offending. The clients are referred from institutional programs and by the parole board upon their release from prison. A critical component of treatment focuses on the clients' motivation to change. This aspect of the treatment program has potential for an important contribution to knowledge. Experience indicates that all of the behavioural principles and group therapy techniques popularized in the last decade are useless with the less-than-committed client. They simply do not generalize beyond the laboratory or over time. The first phase of treatment, therefore, is to encourage motivation to change, based on three conditions. First, offenders are encouraged to acknowledge their sexual preference and phallometric recordings of their deviant sexual arousal are used to challenge misrepresentations of fact. Second, offenders are encouraged to see their victims as true victims by means of film and live encounters with victims of sexual assault. Third, offender rationalizations are challenged as being narcissistic and self-indulgent by experienced group therapists with the assistance of "successfully treated" sexual offenders. Only at this point are the traditional behavioural procedures and group therapy techniques undertaken such as the use of imagery, role-playing and skill training.

A report by Porporino (1986) suggests that there are subgroups of offenders who are particularly violence-prone in prisons. Preventing prison violence may hinge on how well these

offenders are managed in terms of classification and placement across custody settings. Porporino and Doherty examined homicides occurring over 18 years in Canadian Federal Penitentiaries in order to explore differences in the factors which are related to prison homicide victimization.

Understanding the inmate characteristics and the circumstances surrounding the murders can lead to appropriate measures to prevent inmate murders. Research is continuing concentrating on the investigation of offender characteristics, with a view to prevention.

Knowing why inmates are returned to prison can assist us in preventing re-offending. Two reports in a series which identify the types of information required by those responsible for policy and operational decision-making related to the release of inmates from federal penitentiaries. The focus of the "Full Parole Release" report (Hann and Harman, 1986) is on the numbers and characteristics of federal inmates who become eligible for parole, and how the likelihood of full parole differs for different "cohorts" of eligible inmates, and according to different independent factors. The focus of the "Release Risk Assessment Report" (Harman and Hann, 1986) is on the numbers and characteristics of federal inmates who have been released from a penitentiary, and how the likelihoods of readmission to a penitentiary differ. The processes, documentation, grounds, and reasons upon which suspensions are made were investigated by Dittenhoffer, Leroux, and Cormier

(1986). A report by Wong (1984) identified the characteristics of psychopathic inmates who have a high risk for reoffending. It was found that despite notorious criminal and conditional release records psychopaths were not any less likely to be given parole. If psychopaths were to be properly identified and treated, this could result in the prevention of crime. This series of reports which addresses parole, risk assessment and suspension and revocation identify factors which are related to the commission of crimes by parolees, and may be utilized to prevent more crimes from occurring.

Crime Prevention and the Native Community
Native Justice

The over-representation of Native people as offenders in correctional institutions suggests the need for two approaches in developing crime prevention strategies to reduce both the rates of initial contact and those of recidivism for this group. The first approach involves the identification, through research, of the causal links between crime and socio-economic and other factors; the second involves the creation of crime prevention programs which are culturally appropriate and effective in meeting the particular needs of Native people.

A number of projects have been carried out which address the issue of crime prevention from theoretical and empirical premises. . The theoretical and cultural issues in the policing

of Native people were examined to better guide the Ministry in the formulation of Native policing policies, and to more adequately address the issue of police-citizen relations (Depew, 1986). The Ministry is analyzing the data generated in the Amerindian police occurrence files in order to assist the force in developing future crime prevention strategies and programs.

The Native Justice Inventory was compiled to dispense a broad range of information concerning research and programming activities across the country to interested public and private organizations and agencies. The crime prevention component of this Inventory is substantial and this information will assist others in setting up projects similar to those described in the Inventory (LaPrairie, 1985).

The recently distributed User Report - Study of Manitoba's Northern and Rural Juvenile Courts (Kueneman, Linden and Kosmick, 1986), while having as its major focus the criminal justice processing of Native and non-Native youth in 22 communities, identified some of the major problems facing youth in a variety of northern and rural settings. Moreover, the authors interviewed a number of community members who identified ways in which they felt their communities could more effectively operate to reduce juvenile crime. The development of community profiles in this project has provided direction to the Aboriginal Initiative within the Branch in terms of

realizing the need to document community characteristics as a way of both understanding and preventing crime.

Native Victims in Canada: Steps Toward Appropriate and Effective Assistance (Clark, 1985), documented the most prevalent types of victimization of Native people and the need for implementation services across the country. In a broad way this approach sets out a potential framework for crime prevention. By drawing on socio-impact and marginality literature the author of this study concluded that marginality does not refer simply to community socio-economic well-being relative to the Canadian standard but is an indication of a community's potential for self-sufficiency and self-development. The application of this concept may be an important factor in crime prevention as it suggests the possibility of creating appropriate mechanisms for social control and community rehabilitation.

In the area of Native youth, the Ministry has been involved in funding and evaluating a number of different projects.

The Skeena Youth Work Incentive Program (Nelms-Matske, 1982a), was directed at youth in conflict with the law, who were also high school drop-outs with a variety of family and social problems. The goal of the program was to provide an alternative working and learning environment for these youths in order to teach them trade skills, good work habits, and make

them job-ready. It was believed that teaching these formally diversified and charged youth skills such as woodworking and glass-making, would increase their sense of self-esteem and self-worth so often cited as a cause of delinquent behaviour.

Project Rediscovery (Nelms-Matske, 1982b) emerged as a response to the needs of Haida youth for recreation and education within a traditional setting. The goal of the program was to teach traditional culture, lifestyles and subsistence methods, thereby helping youths to establish a greater sense of cultural identity, self-reliance, and self-worth. The program was designed as a series of two-week wilderness expeditions with a base camp in an ancestral Haida village. The goal of the project and the concept of crime prevention is perhaps best expressed by the use of the legendary Haida character "Stoneribs". Originally a weakling, "Stoneribs" underwent a positive transformation into a character of strength, and worthy of respect, based on contact with nature. The honorary title "Stoneribs" was bestowed on the camper on the last night who had best fulfilled the ideal of positive change through contact with nature. The project was sponsored by the Haida Counselling and Legal Aid Society and funded by the Ministry of the Solicitor General, the Ministry of Human Resources, the Band Council, and the probation Branch of the Attorney General.

The involvement of the Research Division in the above projects was to undertake program reviews in order to acquire

information to disseminate to other groups and communities.

Whereas it is relatively simple to measure the short term impact of crime prevention programs on individual recidivism, the less tangible outcomes such as attitude change, improved self-esteem or benefits to the community are less easy to assess. Thus one of the major problems facing evaluators is that of determining the impact of these residual effects, particularly over the long term.

Conclusion

The foregoing review highlights the diversity of crime prevention research and the progress in the past decade. Crime prevention is neither a straightforward matter nor is it a solitary venture of the police. Many crime prevention programs are based on the premise that for a crime to occur there must be an opportunity, a suitable target or victim and a motivated offender. Crime prevention addresses all three factors. The past decade of programs and research was focused on opportunity reduction and target hardening, while offenders were treated after the fact to prevent re-offending. More recently the emphasis has switched to finding appropriate ways to prevent youths from developing attitudes and behaviours which are suggestive of future criminal activity, but we must not neglect to improve on the knowledge we have built in police based community crime prevention.

The major challenge for researchers in crime prevention is to synthesize the information gathered to date and to coordinate future efforts in primary, secondary and tertiary crime prevention. This will require a diverse approach, including addressing the root causes of crime, strengthening families, encouraging citizens to take more responsibility with their police for community crime prevention, providing services to victims to prevent further victimization and providing appropriate treatment for offenders. A clear direction on the part of researchers can influence the direction that the major participants take to increase crime prevention in Canada.

APPENDIX A

Good Neighbours Working Together to Prevent Crime (Pamphlet)

The purpose of this pamphlet is to provide succinct information to the general public on what community crime prevention is, why it is important, and how individual citizens and community groups can co-operate with the police and other social agencies to reduce crime and its impact on Canadian society. (Solicitor General, 1983a)

The Good Neighbours Crime Prevention Handbook (Brochure)

The purpose of this brochure is to provide basic information to members of the community, especially community organizations and community leaders, on their role in crime prevention, to interest them in becoming involved, and to connect them with enabling resources. (Solicitor General, 1983b)

Working Together to Prevent Crime: A Practitioner's Handbook

The purpose of this handbook is to provide the police and other crime prevention practitioners with the principles of effective crime prevention and present information on effective crime prevention projects. A planning model is suggested with information about crime analysis and enlisting community participation, and guidelines for implementation and evaluation are provided. (Solicitor General, 1984)

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